THE REMONSTRANCE.

SPECIAL SOUTH DAKOTA EDITION.

The Remonstrance is addressed to the voters of South Dakota by Women Remonstrants against the extension of the suffrage to women. It expresses the views of such Remonstrants in Massachusetts, Maine, Illinois, and other States who believe that the great majority of their sex do not want the ballot, and that to force it upon them would not only be an injustice to women but would lessen their influence for good and imperil the community. The Remonstrants ask a thoughtful consideration of their views in the interest of fair discussion; and they especially ask the officers of Farmers' Alliances who may receive the paper to do them the favor of distributing copies among the members.

GOLDWIN SMITH ON SUFFRAGE.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH'S clear and vigorous statement of the case against woman suffrage, in The Forum for January, derives special interest from the fact that the writer, thirty years ago, in company with John Bright, signed John Stuart Mill's petition for the political enfranchisement of women. Both afterward changed their minds; Mr. Bright became the most powerful opponent of woman suffrage, and Professor Smith, influenced in part by the fact that the best representatives of the sex among his acquaintances were opposed to the change, has come to regard the suffrage movement with strong disapproval.

Professor Smith reviews, in a very caustic and effective way, the favorable report of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage. To the declaration that suffrage is a natural right he replies that what is essential to the republican form of government can be gathered only by induction from a survey of such republics as have existed; and of all the republics which have existed not one has given a share of the sovereign power or a part in government to women. If government requires a masculine understanding or temperament, and if the practical character by which political questions are likely to be best settled resides in the man whose sphere is the world, rather than in the woman whose sphere is home, there is a reason for preferring such government and legislation, quite independent of any invidious comparisons, whether intellectual or moral. Why has the male sex alone made the laws? Because law, with whatever majesty we may invest it, is will, which, to give it effect, must be backed by force; and the force of the community is male. That the tendency of a state governed by women would be to arbitrary and sentimental legislation can hardly be doubted. The women of France some years ago would probably have voted a war for the support of the temporal power of the Pope. The women of England might have voted intervention in favor of the Queen of Naples. In both cases the men would have refused to march or act, and government would have succumbed. As to the supposed elevating influence of women upon politics, Professor Smith says: —

"The belief that women will impart their tenderness and purity to politics is surely somewhat simple. They are tender and pure, because their sphere has

RECENT DEFEATS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

RESULTS IN 1889.

In Vermont, where two years before a municipal suffrage bill passed the House, a similar bill was defeated at the last session: yeas, 39; nays, 192.

In Maine, a municipal suffrage bill was defeated in the House, February 28; yeas, 42; nays 90. The Senate rejected the bill by a vote of yeas, 9; nays, 17.

In New Hampshire, the Constitutional Convention gave the suffragists "leave to withdraw."

In Dakota, where two years before a municipal suffrage bill passed both branches of the Legislature, and was vetoed by the Governor, a similar bill was twice voted down in the Legislature of 1889. Introduced again in a modified form, limiting the privilege to tax-paying women, the measure met with a third and final defeat, February 27.

In Ohio, a municipal suffrage bill was defeated in the House, and a proposition for a suffrage constitutional amendment also failed of adoption.

In Nebraska, the Legislature voted to "indefinitely postpone" a municipal suffrage bill.

In Nevada, a proposed amendment to the Constitution, admitting women to the suffrage, was voted down.

In Massachusetts, a municipal suffrage bill was defeated in the House, March 12: yeas, 78; nays, 127. A license suffrage bill which had been engrossed by the Senate, May 16: yeas, 15; nays, 12, reached the House May 24, and was referred to the next General Court by a vote of 101 to 42.

In Connecticut, a woman's suffrage amendment to the Constitution was rejected: yeas, 44; nays, 90. Four other suffrage measures were defeated, namely: a municipal suffrage bill, a license suffrage bill, a school suffrage bill, and a bill exempting women from taxation until such time as they are given the ballot.

In Michigan, a municipal suffrage bill, which passed the House: 58 yeas; 33 nays, was defeated the same day in the Senate: 10 yeas, 16 nays.

In Minnesota, a municipal suffrage bill was killed in the House by the acceptance of an adverse report of the Committee.

In New York, the Assembly, March 25, defeated the bill conferring municipal suffrage upon women.

In the new State of Washington, October 1, a woman suffrage article in the Constitution was submitted to the people, and rejected by a vote of about two to one.

In Montana, the Constitutional Convention voted down propositions to empower the Legislature to confer the suffrage upon women, to submit the question to the vote of the people every four years, and to submit a separate suffrage article at the same time with the Constitution.

In North Dakota, the Constitutional Convention rejected a proposition to remit the whole question to the Legislature, and adopt a clause requiring a vote of the people to ratify any act of the Legislature conferring suffrage upon women.

RESULTS IN 1890.

In North Dakota, March 4, a Senate bill submitting to a vote of the people a constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote, was defeated in the House after an animated debate.

In New York, April 28, the Assembly rejected a municipal woman suffrage bill: yeas, 48; nays, 60. The adverse vote was considerably heavier than in 1889.

In Massachusetts, April 17, the House rejected a municipal woman suffrage bill: 73 yeas; nays, 141, including pairs. In 1889, the vote on a similar bill was 90 yeas; 139 nays, including pairs. The vote of 1890, therefore, shows a net loss of 19 for the bill.

hitherto been the home, which is the abode of tenderness and purity. Thrown into the arena of political strife, the 'angels,' if experience may be trusted, instead of imparting the angelic character to the male combatants, would be in danger of losing it themselves. In the desperate party conflict which has been raging in England, each party has put its women in requisition as canvassers on a large scale; and we are misinformed if the result has been the infusion of a more angelic character into the fray."

If women were a class without votes, their class interests might suffer. But they are not a class, but a sex. What special interest of women can be named which is in danger of suffering at the hands of a legislature composed of their husbands, sons, and brothers? Not only are the lives, liberties, and properties of American women secure, but they are more secure, if anything, than those of the men. Alluding to the privileges now enjoyed by women, Professor Smith asks this pertinent question: —

"Do the woman's rights party expect to combine the prerogatives of both sexes, and to have equality and privilege too? For a time perhaps they might, while the ancient sentiment lingered; but the total change of relations would in the end bring a corresponding change of feeling. Chivalry depends on the acknowledged need of protection, and what is accorded to a gentle helpmate would not be accorded to a rival. Man would neither be inclined nor bound to treat with tenderness and forbearance the being who was fighting and jostling him in all his walks of life, wrangling with him in the law courts, wrestling with him on the stump, manœuvring against him in elections, haggling against him in Wall Street, and perhaps encountering him on the race course and in the betting ring. But when woman has lost her privilege, what will she be but a weaker man?"

Of a certain extraordinary threat which was made by one of the active suffrage leaders last year, Professor Smith observes in closing: —

"One lady in her evidence warns Congress, if it will not give way, that the wild enthusiasm of women can be used for evil as well as good, and threatens in America a repetition of the scenes of the French Commune. More terrible even than this menace is the fear of doing an injury to man's partner, and thereby a deeper injury to man himself. . . . To man, as he alone could enforce the law, the sovereign power came naturally and righteously. Let him see whether he cannot make a just use of it, in the interest of his wife and children as well as in his own, before he sends in his resignation."

WYOMING AS AN EXAMPLE.

The extraordinary prominence given to Wyoming makes it pertinent to examine the community whose example is held up for general imitation. What is Wyoming, and how extended an experiment is it from which such sweeping conclusions have been drawn? Twenty years ago, when the women began to vote in Wyoming, the entire population of that territory, men, women, and children, was 9,118. If the ratio of the sexes and of ages was the same as exhibited in the census of 1880, the whole number of women of twenty-one years and over, and thus entitled to vote, was about 900. This handful of women voters was scattered over a territory having more than twelve times the area of the State of Massachusetts. At the census of 1880 the population of Wyoming was 20,789, of which number only 6,637 were females. Of females of twenty-one years and over there were less than 2,000. The present population of the territory is a matter of estimate. At the election in 1888, however, the total vote cast was 18,008. We have the authority of an active woman suffrage leader, Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, in The Woman's Journal for January 4, for the statement that "men cast seven times as many votes as women" in Wyoming. Accepting this statement, it would appear that the women voters of Wyoming numbered, so recently as 1888, only about 2,250. Some consideration of these facts is necessary, if the example of Wyoming is to count for what it is worth and no more.

A VITAL DIFFERENCE.

As exercised by women in England, municipal suffrage is limited to women who are unmarried and are property-owners or rate-payers to the amount of ten pounds per annum. Municipal suffrage, as exercised by women in Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Manitoba, is also limited to single women and widows who are property-owners or tax-payers. A little reflection will suggest how small a proportion of the women in any of our communities would be permitted to vote, if the grant were limited to taxpaying widows and spinsters, as in England. But it is suffrage without such restrictions which is asked for here, and for that experiment there is no precedent in any other country.

A FLUCTUATING FACTOR.

The advocates of woman suffrage will do well not to lay too much emphasis upon the women's vote for School Committee in Boston. Whatever may be thought of the arguments by which the women have been rallied, or the immediate results which their votes have helped to accomplish, the school elections of 1888 and 1889 furnish strong confirmation of the position of those who have objected to woman suffrage on the ground that the vote of women would be a fluctuating and emotional factor in politics. This is precisely what the results show it to be. The questions which relate to the administration of the schools, the character and fidelity of the teachers, and the welfare of the children, were just as important in 1882, for example, as in 1888. Yet in the former year only 498 women in Boston thought it worth while to vote, while in 1888 there were 19,490 who went to the polls. Why was the women's vote of 1882 swollen fortyfold in 1888? Simply because the women were appealed to by religious and emotional considerations, and were aroused by issues which, whether necessary or not at that time, no prudent or patriotic American would wish to become a staple of politics. And why was it that the registration and vote of women in 1889 fell off nearly one half? Simply because the emotional issues of the preceding year were less operative.

The fluctuating character of the women's vote becomes clearly apparent on a comparison of the official figures. We give the following, except the figures for 1889, from the returns transmitted to the Legislature by the Secretary of the Commonwealth: —

Year.	Women Registered.	Women Voting.
1881	748	640
1882	567	498
1883	701	650
1884	1,119	1,026
1885	2,238	2,062
1886	1,193	878
1887	837	725
1888	20,252	19,490
1889	10,589	10,051

The Boston Herald of November 28, 1889, commenting upon the registration of women, which had just closed, said editorially: —

"If women are to take part in municipal contests for members of the school board or for other elective officers, they must do so when urged by a calm sense of duty,

and not when spurred to the polls by the clamors and appeals of excited partisans. If it is only under such exceptional circumstances that a full female vote can be depended upon, then we should say that it was highly questionable whether any extension of female suffrage was desirable. We should have, under such circumstances, periodical semi-revolutions. Eternal vigilance is said to be the price of liberty, and that vigilance compels the public-spirited citizen to do his duty at the polls whenever an election takes place. But if, in a municipal, state, or national election, 3,000 or 4,000 women vote at one election, and 30,000 or 40,000 at another, our government, so far as it could be controlled by this vote, would be carried on upon the explosive principle — that is, government matters would be permitted to drift from bad to worse until something approaching a revolutionary crisis was reached, and then for one year we should have a complete turnover, to be followed by several years of popular apathy until another crisis occurred."

Certainly a little reflection upon the figures which we have quoted confirms this view, all the more when it is noticed that when once before, in 1885, there was a spurt of interest in school suffrage, the vote declined more than one half the succeeding year, as was the case in 1889.

A FATAL ADMISSION.

THAT was a fatal admission which was made last winter, by the Rev. Henry Blanchard, President of the Maine Woman's Suffrage Association, when, over his own signature, in The Portland Press, he said: "I tell the gentlemen of the Legislature that the majority of women are opposed to woman suffrage." In the light of this admission, the suffrage movement can no longer be represented, as in the past, as an attempt to secure for women a coveted privilege. It is disclosed as a movement upon the part of a confessed minority of the sex to force upon the great majority a responsibility which they do not desire, but from which they shrink with a strong repugnance based on their conviction that it is unnecessary and unwise.

This point being conceded, and it is as true in South Dakota as it is in Maine, what becomes of the pretence of the suffragists that when they ask for the ballot for women they voice the desire of the sex? By their own confession, it is not woman as a sex, but a clamorous minority of women whom they represent. This is quite a different thing, and the distinction ought to find a place in woman suffrage oratory.

It follows also from Mr. Blanchard's admission that unless legislators are prepared to ignore in this matter the fundamental principle of the American system, that the will of the majority shall control, they cannot consistently force the ballot upon women when the large majority of the sex not only do not ask for it, but are averse to having the burden placed upon them.

SUFFRAGE AT A STANDSTILL IN CANADA.

THERE are no signs of an extension of woman suffrage in the provinces of the Dominion, where women have a very limited opportunity to vote. The efforts which were made, last year, to remove some of the existing restrictions were all unsuccessful. The New Brunswick House of Assembly, the Assembly of the Province of Ontario, and the Parliament of British Columbia all voted down propositions for the enlargement of woman suffrage.

THE ENGLISH REMONSTRANCE.

THE most noteworthy contribution to the literature of the suffrage question last year was the Remonstrance printed in The Nineteenth Century for June, and signed by a large number of women who are well known on both sides of the Atlantic. Among the signers were Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Lady Randolph Churchill, Mrs. Goschen, Mrs. Leslie Stephen, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Mrs. Huxley, Mrs. Matthew Arnold, Mrs. W. E. Forster, Mrs. Max Müller, Lady Monteagle, Lady Frederick Cavendish, the Duchess of St. Albans, and other leaders in social and literary circles.

The signers of this Remonstrance expressed their desire for the fullest possible development of the powers, energies, and education of women, and their conviction that their work for the state and their responsibilities toward it must always differ from those of men, and that therefore their share in the working of the state machinery should be different from that assigned to men. They said: —

"To sum up: we would give them their full share in the state of social effort and social mechanism; we look for their increasing activity in that higher state which rests on thought, conscience, and moral influence; but we protest against their admission to direct power in that state which *does* rest upon force — the state in its administrative, military, and financial aspects — where the physical capacity, the accumulated experience and inherited training of men ought to prevail without the harassing interference of those who, though they may be partners with men in debate, can in these matters never be partners with them in action."

As to the claim that the influence of women in politics would tend upon the side of morality, the signers claimed that it does so tend already, but that it is dependent upon those qualities of sympathy and disinterestedness which it would be extremely difficult to maintain in the heat of party struggle. If the quickness of feeling, which is one of the peculiar excellencies of women, should be immediately translated into public action, in matters of grave importance, the risks of politics would be enormously increased. As to the injustices of the law toward women, most of these have been removed during the past half-century, and the growing sensitiveness to the claims of women affords reason to believe that such as remain will also be removed. The Remonstrance concluded thus: —

"Nothing can be further from our minds than to seek to depreciate the position or the importance of women. It is because we are keenly alive to the enormous value of their special contribution to the community that we oppose what seems to us likely to endanger that contribution. We are convinced that the pursuit of a mere outward equality with men is for women not only vain but demoralizing. It leads to a total misconception of woman's true dignity and special mission. It tends to personal struggle and rivalry, where the only effort of both the great divisions of the human family should be to contribute the characteristic labor and the best gifts of each to the common stock."

THE SUFFRAGE WATERLOO IN THE NEW STATE OF WASHINGTON.

IN the long list of suffrage defeats in 1889, none is more complete and humiliating than that which was experienced in the new State of Washington. The women possessed the right to vote in the territory of Washington for five years, until the adverse decision of the Territorial Supreme Court in 1887. The suffragists complained bitterly of this decision, as a violation of the intention of the Legislature and the will of the peo-

ple. The passage by Congress of an enabling act for the admission of Washington as a State gave the suffragists an opportunity, not only to redress the wrong of which they complained, but to embody woman suffrage in the Constitution of a State of the Union. They were confident of success.

The struggle began in the Constitutional Convention, August 12, when a motion was made to strike out the word "male" from the suffrage clause of the constitution. On a *viva voce* vote only eight delegates out of seventy-five voted in favor of the amendment. A motion to empower the Legislature to confer suffrage upon women was then made, and was lost, yeas 18, noes 38. A motion to give the women municipal suffrage was rejected. A motion was then adopted, providing for the submission of woman suffrage as a separate article, in November, 1890. Three days later, however, this motion was reconsidered, and, in spite of the protests of the suffragists, it was voted to submit the article at the same time with the Constitution, October 1, 1889. The next movement of the suffragists was an amendment providing that, if the suffrage article were lost, the Legislature should have the power to submit it at any time. This failed, yeas 28, nays 43. A motion to exempt women from taxation received only 18 votes.

The suffragists were greatly disconcerted by the brevity of the interval before the election, but they made a vigorous campaign. The result, however, was that the people who had enjoyed the supposed blessing of woman suffrage, under a territorial government for five years, and who had been represented as crying out against its withdrawal, voted, nearly two to one, not to incorporate it in their Constitution as a State. From this it would appear that their feelings regarding the institution had been either misunderstood or misrepresented.

CONCESSIONS OF A SUFFRAGIST.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, of Massachusetts, a lifelong advocate of woman suffrage, took occasion some time ago to consider in The Forum some of the "Unsolved Problems of Woman Suffrage." His article is remarkable for its frank concession of some of the gravest objections of those who oppose the extension of the suffrage to women. Mr. Higginson thinks that the mass of women are indifferent to the suffrage, rather than hostile to it, but he argues that "the indifference of the mass of women is a point to be considered;" and he says, "I cannot go along with those who think that a very few women should be allowed to vote, even if their sex, as a whole, be ever so disinclined to it," for, he concludes, "the enfranchisement of women will affect the sex as a whole; it will throw a new responsibility upon all, whether they wish it or no." As to the danger to be apprehended from the presence of ignorant and vicious women at the polls, Mr. Higginson says, "Because only the educated and refined women have as yet voted for school officers, it is unsafe to infer that there will not be, in times of social excitement, some concourse of the rude and the ignorant, even of the vicious;" and he adds: "I fancy that the bravest person would rather face a mob of men than of women." If anarchy and socialism are looming up as serious prospective dangers among men, though he is not convinced of this, he admits that they "are no less serious as seen among women." Mr. Higginson concedes the fluctuating character of the prospective woman vote when he says: "We shall very likely see, as a further result, a wider range than now exists between the maximum and minimum votes at different elections." Of the grave moral perils attending the exercise of suffrage by women, Mr. Higginson speaks with great plainness as follows:—

"Who that remembers the Woodhull and Claflin period of our social history, or the Beecher-Tilton controversy, can look without some anxiety to the utterly unrestricted mingling of men and women, in periods of great excitement and under the strongest inducements to use whatever means of influence may prove most potent in dealing with one another? Grant, for the sake of argument, that the persons immediately concerned in public life, under the new order, are likely to be utterly above all personal danger in this close intercourse, what is to guard them against the evil of suspicion? There will be no point so vulnerable, no mode of attack so promising, as those growing out of the question of personal chastity, in these untried relations. To all the present opportunities for scandal there will be added a new one; and this, in the hands of an unscrupulous antagonist, will be worth all the rest put together. Woman suffrage, it may be urged, may improve the wisdom and justice of legislation, especially as regards women themselves, but it will hardly promote, at first, the purity and decency of political campaigns."

How serious is the estimate which Mr. Higginson places upon these moral perils is shown by the fact that he actually suggests as a remedy the establishment of separate legislative bodies of men and of women! It appears therefore from these concessions of one of the most prominent suffrage leaders that among the consequences to be anticipated from woman suffrage are an uncertain and fluctuating vote, a considerable increase of the ignoant and vicious vote, and moral perils so serious as to suggest the need of separate male and female legislatures. What excuse or justification is there for forcing an experiment which is fraught with such grave perils?

DISAPPOINTMENT OF ENGLISH SUFFRAGISTS.

THE English suffragists have experienced a double disappointment this year. In the balloting for preference, which took place at the opening of the session, their measure for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women was unfortunate in failing to receive a position. The idea of introducing the bill was consequently abandoned, and it was resolved to take the opinion of the house by a resolution. Mr. Walter B. M'Laren undertook this service, and he secured the assignment of March 4 as the date for consideration. But that day found the House still absorbed in the debate on the report of the Parnell Commission, and on motion of Mr. W. H. Smith, the Government leader, that matter was given precedence, thus crowding out the special assignment. Mr. M'Laren's plea for a hearing for the suffrage question was received with unfeeling laughter. All that could be secured from Mr. Smith was a promise that he would not "mischievously" deprive Mr. M'Laren of another opportunity if he contrived to secure it; but a subsequent effort in this direction failed like the first. The House gave no signs of a disposition to entertain the question seriously.

WHY should not the experiment of school suffrage for women be more fully tried in South Dakota, and its results ascertained before complete suffrage is voted? The voting at the elections in June does not indicate any great desire among South Dakota women to use the ballot.